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SPEECHES,

Spoken by the Right HONOURABLE  
The Earle of L O U D O U N,

Lord high Chancellour of the Kingdome  
of SCOTLAND:

AT

*A Conference with a Committee of the  
Honourable Houses in the Painted  
Chamber, October 1646.*

Proverbs 25. 11.

*A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in  
pictures of silver.*



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EDINBURGH:

*Printed by Evan Tyler, Printer to the  
Kings most Excellent Majesty, 1646.*



*Good Reader,*

**I** Understand that the right Honourable the Lord Chancellour of *Scotland* had not right done him by the printed Copie of his Speech to the Kings Majestie at *New-castle*, concerning the Propositions of Peace, there being in that Copie Errours and Omissions, and both material ; which hath moved me to resolve, as to print the former according to the true Copie, so for preventing the like mistakes and mis-representations, first to procure to my self, and now to communicate to the publike view, the true transcripts of these last three Speeches: In which thou shalt find the merit of an excellent subject to speak for it self, for thou hast here a most solid, judicious, candid, and plain debate, concerning the best and most hopeful means of attaining a speedy and happy Peace, which may put a period to the lasting miseries of these three Kingdoms: Read and consider, and beware thou do not receive with the left hand what is reached forth with the right ; This Noble Lord hath dealt freely and faithfully both with King and Parliament ; and, as Truth and plain dealing did appear in his Speeches, so what he spake is here faithfully imparted ; and thou maist be confident, that in this it holds true,  
Τὰ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ ἔστι καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ συγγραφέως, καὶ τὰ γραφόμενα ἔστι ἐν τῇ φωνῇ

*Thine to serve thee for the Publike good,*

*G. A.*



The Lord Chancellour of *Scotland* his first Speech: At a Conference  
in the Painted Chamber with a Committe of both  
Houses, Octob. 1. 1646.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*



He end of this Conference is to advise what is fit to be done for the Peace and Security of the Kingdomes in relation to the King, and how to dispose of his Majesties Person, which is a matter very ticklish, and of most high concernment; and they who would build very high, must dig very low for a firm foundation: And therefore I shall make bold to desire, That what ever we resolve upon concerning the Kings Majesty, it may be done by joint advice and consent of both Kingdoms, and that the Unity between the Kingdomes may be inviolably preserved, as that wherein (next to Gods protection) the chief strength of both lies, which would be laid as a ground of our future debates. And because the purpose we are to speak of is very grave and serious, I shall speak of it with that sincerity, as I wish my words were written with the beams of the Sun, and registred to posterity, that all the world might see the candor and integrity of our proceedings towards the King and our Brethren of *England*. And (as I had occasion once to expresse in this place) so do I now say, That no man hath conscience nor honour who will not remember our solemn League and Covenant, as the strongest bond under heaven between God and man, between man and man, and between Nation and Nation, in which our Unity is founded upon Verity in a threefold relation; to God, to the King, and amongst our selves. The first is the greatest, and ascends as high as heaven: for *Religion*, which hath its name a *religando*, unites us to God himself: and so long as he is in League with us, we need not fear who be against us. Let us therefore hold fast our Unity in Religion, and beware of Toleration of all Religions, which is the ready way to have none; for there is nothing more divine in God then Unitie, and nothing more Diabollicall in the Divell then Division, who therefore is known to the vulgar by his cloven foot to be the spirit of Division.

The next ground and relation of our Unity, is with the King, to whom we are bound (in the strictest bonds of loyall Subjection) by our Allegiance and Covenant, as to one Head and Monarch: and therefore the faithfull endeavours of both Kingdoms should (without wearying) be constantly contributed, That we may be united to him by a happy and just Peace: For if one of the Kingdoms shall cast off the King, and the other have a King; if the one shall make Peace with the King, and the other not make Peace, but be still at variance with him, it is to be feared, that no humane wit nor policie will be able to keep the two Kingdoms long without a rupture; And if it please God so to incline the Kings heart, and direct the wisdom of the Parliaments, as that the King and wee could make a happy agreement, no power or policie can be able to divide us; for, *Qui conveniunt unitio, conveniunt inier se.*

The third ground and relation of our Unitie, is the conjunction of the two Kingdoms, which hath been acknowledged to be so necessary and usefull to both,  
That

That they have often declared, they would stand and fall, and (like *Hippocrates* twins) live and dye together. And therefore, as we regard our solemn Covenant with God Almighty, and tender the standing and safety of the Kingdomes, let us (with one heart and mind) joyn our Counsels and Actions, That whatsoever we resolve upon for our common Peace and Security in relation to the King, and of each Kingdom to other, that it be done in zeal to Religion, in loyalty to the King, and with unanimity amongst our selves. And as the Pythagoreans did note the number of Two with the mark of infamy, as being the first number that durst part from Unity; so, which soever of the Kingdoms shall first violate the Unity which is bound up in our Covenant, may apply it to themselves: But if we shall adhere to that Unity which is builded upon the firm foundation of Verity, in our relations to Religion, the King, and amongst our selves, it will be a three-fold cord which is not easily broken; and our Unity, I hope, shall be turned into an Identity, both Kingdomes may be perfectly one.

Having thus in the first place laid a ground for Unity of Counsels and Resolutions, I shall in the next place humbly desire and protest, That what-ever may be our Propositions or Debates concerning the King, it be not mis-constituted, as if one of the Kingdomes were imposing conditions upon the other, or that we are absolutely wedded to any one desire more then to another; but that (all severall waies being amicably debated and rightly pondered,) That which may serve most for the safety, security and happiness of the King and both Kingdomes, may be gravely resolved upon. And now I come to the Question it self, concerning the disposing of His Majesties Person; first Negatively, and then Positively. Negatively, the Question is not of the power and authoritie of the Houses of Parliament in disposing of any person, or judging of any case which is of single concernment to *England*: Nor is the Question how the Kings Person may be disposed of *de facto* by any one of the Kingdoms; neither is the Question properly *de jure & posse*, but *de esse, & bene esse*: And as it is neither good Logick nor good Divinity to argue *a posse ad esse*; so sure I am, in this case it is far worse policie for either Kingdome to dispure what they may do in the height of their power, when both are consulting what is fittest to be done for the Peace and Security of both. And the relation of both Kingdoms to his Majesty, and of each Kingdome to other being rightly considered, as he is King to both, as both are Subjects to him, as both are engaged in the same Cause, and have been in the same War, and are labouring under the same Danger, are seeking the same Remedies, and should have the same Security; we do hold, that the disposing of the Kings Person doth not properly belong to any one of the Kingdomes, but jointly to both. And after *Scotland* hath suffered the heat of the day and winters cold, have forsaken their own peace for love of their Brethren, have set their own house on fire to quench theirs: After so much expence of their blood in all the three Kingdomes, after we have gone along with you in all the hardship of this War, and (without vanity be it spoken) have been so usefull in this Cause: And that the King hath cast himself into the hands of the Scottish Army, and that by the blessing of God upon the joynt endeavour of both Kingdoms we are come to the harbour of a peace; We cannot expect, that the honourable Houses will think it agreeable with conscience or honour, or with the justice of the Houses, that the Person of the King should be disposed of by them as they shall think fit, or by any one of the kingdomes alone; but that what ever shall be resolved in this, may be done by joynt advice of both, as may serve most for the peace, security, and happiness of both Kingdomes.

*The Lord Chancelour of Scotland his second Speech: At a Conference in the Painted Chamber, with a Committee of both Houses, Octob. 6. 1646.*

**A**T our last meeting in this conference, your Lordships did assert the Vote of the Houses, That the Person of the King should be disposed on as the two Houses shall think fit: And we did hold, that the King, who is the Head and Monarch of both Kingdomes, ought not to be disposed of by any one of the Kingdoms, but by joynt advice of both, as might serve most for the peace, happinesse, and security of his Majesty and both kingdomes, which we fortified with severall arguments from the interests and relations which both Kingdomes have equally to the King, and from the covenant and treaty between the Kingdoms, as the best way to preserve our Unity. But since your Lordships do adhere to the Vote of the Houses, as that which you cannot part from, We do humbly desire, that your Lordships may be pleased (in time convenient, at the close of this conference) to report the difference of our judgement to the honourable Houses, who upon better reasons both may, and (we hope) will take their Vote into further consideration: And so with reservation of our judgement, that the disposing of his Majesties person doth belong to both; and not to any one of the Kingdoms, especially in such a juncture of affairs, as both Kingdoms stand engaged in this cause; I shall descend particularly how the Kings Person should be disposed of to the best advantage of both Kingdoms, and for attaining such a happy peace as all good men should desire. But lest we should walke in the dark upon obscurity of ambiguous words, I shall desire that the word of disposing of the Kings person may be rightly understood, and the true sense of it may be clearly known: For, *Do'us versatur in universalibus*. For, *To dispose of the Kings person, as both Houses, or both Kingdoms shall think fit*, may in some sense be to depose, or worse: But because the word [*Dispose*] may admit a more benigne interpretation, as when men commit their estates and children, or that which is dearest to them to be disposed of, (which is but to be advised) by these who have nearest relation to them, and in whom they repose most trust: I shall speak of the disposing of his Majesties royal person in that sense, (which I hope) is also the sense of the Houses. Nor do I know any other way how his Majesties person can be disposed of, but that he be put either under restraint, or be at freedom with honour and safety. As for the way of restraint, I look upon it as it looks upon us, as a remedy more dangerous then the disease, & as a mean to draw the war of forain Kings upon us (especially the Prince being in ether Kingdoms) rather then to quiet our troubles at home. And therefore supposing that none of the Kingdoms will take any way concerning his Majesties person, but such as may consist with duty and honour, and which may lessen, and not encrease our troubles, I shall lay aside the way of restraint, and speak of the way which may be with freedom, honour and safety, which can be no other, but that his Majesty shall go into *Scot'and*, or come to his Parliament here, or some of his houses near-about.

His going into *Scotland* is full of dangers and inconveniencies to both Kingdoms: The *Amalekites* are not yet driven out of that I land. The bloody barbarous *Irish*, banded with a wicked crew of Malignants, possesse the mountains and highlands, which are the strong holds, and never conquered parts of that Kingdom.

They have not laid down arms, but keep in a body together, and they are so near *Ireland*, as the Forces of the Rebels there may in two or three houres space come over and joyn with them: and (*Scotland*) not being able to keep and entertain Armies long, the King being there, may raise such forces in *Scotland*, as may make way quickly into *England*. And therefore his Majesties going into *Scotland* (before our peace be settled) being of most dangerous consequence to both Kingdoms, I shall humbly offer to your Lordships consideration his Majesties comming to *London*, or some of his houses hereabouts, as the most probable way to procure a speedy and happy agreement, which is also his Majesties own desire in his Answer to the Propositions. And although no perswasion of ours could prevaile to procure a more satisfactory answer for the time, then what is returned to the Houses of Parliament, yet (I assure your Lordships) that the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of *Scotland*, and the Noblemen, who were at *Newcastle*, did faithfully contribute their best endeavours, that his Majesty might have given his assent to the Propositions: And, as we did then deliver our minds with that plainnesse and freedom which was fit for faithfull and loyal Subjects: with no lesse regard to this Kingdom, then our own Nation; so are we now (with the same candor and tenderneesse of affection) willing and ready to concurre with the honourable Houses in every thing which may promote the great work of Reformation; and settle Religion according to the Covenant with a well grounded peace. And for these ends, we desire, that his Majesties answer may be improved to the best advantage of the publick.

For albeit the King hath not given a present assent to the Propositions, yet he hath not in his answer refused them; but doth promise, That he will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills (at the desire of the two Houses) and reasonable demands for *Scotland*, which shall be really for the good and peace of his people: To which end he desireth and proposeth, that he may come to *London* (or any of his houses thereabouts) upon security, That he shall be there with honour, freedom, and safety, as the best expedient to procure a happy agreement between his Majesty and his Parliament, which we desire may be weighed in the ballance of righteous judgement, as a businesse of the greatest consequence which can fall within humane consideration, and wherein the glory of God is most concerned of any businesse under heaven. For upon a blessed agreement between the King and his Parliament, Religion and Righteousnesse, Truth and Peace, which are the compend and height of all happinesse will be established, to the eternall fame and glory of great Britain, and the great comfort of all the Protestant churches: And upon our disagreement, all the calamities of a bloody and unnaturall war, will be continued, and nothing heard nor seen in church nor State but confusion. God hath brought both Kingdomes through the furies and waves of a boisterous tempest, into the harbour of a peace, and hath scattered most part of our Enemies, & now our work is how to come a-shoare, & establish a right peace. I hope, it is as far from our desires and intentions, as it is against our Covenant and Professions, to change fundamentall government. We have need to take heed, that we run not from one extrem into another; *Dum stultis vitans vitia, in contraria currunt*: Therefore our study would be how to cure the wound which our sins and the evill counsels of others have made between the King and his Parliament to make up the breach, and not make it wider.

It hath been universally acknowledged, That the Kings removal from his Parliament

liament is the immediate and chiefe cause of all the war, mischief, and calamities of the kingdomes: Then his Majesties presence in joyning with his Parliament must be the best, if not the only remedy to remove our troubles, for it is a maxime no lesse true then common, that *Contraries have Contrary consequents*.

*Contrarium  
tum con-  
sequens  
sequens*

The King desires to come to his Parliament, not onely to have his doubts cleared, and have these difficulties explained which hinder his consent to the Propositions as they now stand: But likewise that his coming may raise a mutuall confidence between him and his Parliament: If the last were done, the first would soon be performed, and all those mountaines of difficulties would easily be removed, and become valleys.

Your Commissioners had no power to give any reasons, no not so much as tell what is the meaning of any of your demands, nor hearken to any desire of the Kings, And certainly some things might be justly moved by his Majesty, which are necessary for the Crowne and a well grounded Peace, as, That he may have his Revenues, That he may returne with honour and safety to his crowne and government; And if the King were with his Parliament, where hee might both give and receive satisfaction, he might with reason be convinced, to assent to what hee now conceives to be unreasonable.

The making of a peace, is so great and glorious a worke, and so acceptable to all good men, and to the whole people, that it would (after so great trouble) be like raine to the new mowne grasse, or like a resurrection from the dead, and is a worke worthy of a Kings presence: And the King may without arrogancy desire that glory to himselfe, the more to reingratiate him to his people, and not devolve that honour wholly to any other, wherein he himselfe ought to be the prime Actor: And therefore the Kings presence with his Parliament is the most probable way to attaine to a speedy and blessed peace, which certainly will be the more durable, if it be with the good liking of both sides.

I know there is one common objection (and I know not another) wherewith many are posselt and prejudiced against the Kings coming to his Parliament, That his presence may breed division, and that he may hereafter withdraw and continue our troubles. Unity and Concord (I confesse) is that by which Kingdoms and Common-wealths do flourish, and there is nothing more dangerous then division, *Concordia enim res parva cresunt, discordia vero maxima dilabuntur*. But is there any greater or more dangerous division, then to have the Head divided from the body, to have the King divided from his Parliament, the representative body of the kingdome, whereof he is the Head? Hath not this division divided brother against brother, the father against the son, and the son against the father, and Countrey against countrey? This division is the cause of all our other divisions; Take this away and all our other divisions are at an end. *Ablata causa tollitur effectus*. The King doth (with all earnestnesse) desire to be joyned with you, and stands more in need of reconciliation, and I hope will (according to his profession) endeavour it rather then division; And (I trust) the wisdom of the honourable Houses is such as they will doe so too, and rather be reconciled to the King, then divide amongst our selves. And that argument, not to admit of the Kings coming to his Parliament, because his presence may breed division, is an argument to debarre him perpetually from his Parliament. And now the case is altered from what it was, when it was thought unfit, that the King should come to his Parliament, because then he had forces in the fields, garisons and strong holds to returne to:



Now he hath none of these against you, And his desire of coming to his Parliament, cannot be but with resolution to agree and stay with you, for if he were once with you, where can he go from you? And if they were esteemed enemies to the Parliament and the peace of the kingdoms, who advised the King to withdraw from his Parliament, what estimation will the world have of them, who will not suffer him to returne to his Parliament, when he offers to cast himselfe in your armes? Nor can there be a more reall testimony of our respect and affection to *England*, then that we desire he may be with you, and be advised by you, neither can you have any greater honour, then that (after you have dissipated your Enemies) his Majesty is willing to returne to you, And if so kind an offer shall be refused, and the King driven to despair, it is to be feared, these kingdoms will be involved in greater difficulties then ever, and we shall be driven out of the harbour and entrance of a peace, into the tempest of new and bloody wars.

For although *Scotland* be most willing and desirous that the King should returne to his Parliament with honour, safety, and freedom, and that he may remaine where his personal preference may serve most for the security and happinesse of his people; yet if any such course shall be taken, or any demand made for rendring of his person, which cannot stand with his honour and safety, or which cannot consist with our duty, allegiance and Covenant, nor with the honour of that Army, to whom (in time of his extreme danger) he had his recourse for safety; it cannot be expected that we can be capable of so base an Act. And if (to shun this, and avoid occasion of quarrelling between the Kingdomes) he shall go to *Scotland*, and resent his expulsion out of *England*, and crave the assistance of that kingdom, for recovery of his right to his crowne; He may in a short time raise such Forces in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as with the assistance of Foraine Princes, these kingdoms may be made a field of blood, and the youngest amongst us not live to see the end of these unnaturall wars. But if the present opportunity be wisely managed, and that we maintain the just priviledges of Parliament and liberty of the Subject in both kingdoms, with that wisdom and discretion, as that may be given to God which is Gods, and to *Cesar* what is *Cesars*, if we feare God and the King, and doe not meddle with them who are given to change, That same divine providence and wisdom which hath brought us through many difficulties, will also teach us how to establish these kingdoms in peace, and the Kings Throne in righteousness, That the great blessing of a constant and friendly conjunction of the two kingdoms (now united by allegiance and loyall subjection to one Sovereigne and Head) may be firmly observed and continued to all posterity.

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The Lord Chancellour of *Scotland* his last speech, at a conference in the Painted chamber, with a Committee of both Houses, *October* 10. 1646.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**T**His day I hope will bring our conference to some results to be reported to the Houses, and therefore I shall frame my Discourse and Arguments with that succinctnesse as may bring us soonest to a close.

At our first meeting, the subject of our debate was, Whether the Right & Power of



disposing the person of the King, is solely in the two Houses, as they shall think fit, in the two Kingdoms; and at our last meeting, we had some arguing about the same question, but your Lordships did still assert the Vote of the Houses; and we (in respect of the interest and relations which both Kingdoms have equally to the King, especially in the present juncture of affairs, when both Kingdoms are entred in the same league and covenant, have jeopardard their lives in the same war, are labouring under the same danger, are seeking the same remedies, and stand in need of the same peace and security; and both Kingdoms are bound by our *Covenant* to preserve unity, and are obliged by Treaty that none of us shall make any peace, cessation, or agreement whatsoever, without mutuall advice and consent of both) That the person of the King cannot be disposed of without the joint advice and consent of both Kingdoms. But as we do acknowledge that *England* hath parity of interest with *Scotland*, so do we still offer that they shall have parity of power in disposing of the King: and we do affirm, that the person of the King, who is King of *Scotland* as well as of *England*, and is Head and Monarch of both kingdoms, cannot be disposed of by any one of the kingdoms alone: but what ever is to be done concerning the disposing of his Majesties person, ought to be done by joynt advice and common consent of both, as may serve most for the Peace, security, and happinesse of the King and Kingdomes, which we did prove by severall Arguments: To which there was nothing answered in effect, but, that the King being within *England*, his person was to be disposed of as the two Houses shall thinke fit, and that the King being with the *Scottish Army*, and they being paid by the Parliament of *England*, he is in effect in the power of the Houses, and ought to be at their disposing, in the same way as if he had come to the army of *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, or any other of the Parliaments armies. To which we shall not need to make any reply other then we have made already, That the Kings present residence in *England*, nor no locality, can take away the reality of our relations formerly mentioned by us, far lesse can it take away the engagements and stipulations between the kingdoms; and though the *Scottish Army* be paid by the Parliament of *England*, yet they are the Army of *Scotland*, raised for pursuance of the ends of the *Covenant*, and are to be ordered and directed by the Parliaments or committees of both kingdoms: and therefore they cannot with conscience, duty, nor honour, deliver the person of the King without his own consent, to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit: but we have declared, and do still declare, that we are content that the person of the King be disposed of (the word Disposed being taken in a right sense) as may serve most for the peace, safety, security, honour and happinesse of the King and both kingdoms: and did offer to your Lordships consideration his Majesties comming to or neer *London*, as the most probable means to procure a speedy and well-grounded peace. And seeing your Lordships have done us the honour to meet with us in this free and brotherly conference, we do expect that you will concur and assent to this proposition, or propound a better expedient for the good of both kingdoms. But if the honourable houses will not admit of this proposition, our next desire is (that it may appear, no lawfull and possible means are left unassayed which may procure a happy agreement betwixt the King & his Parliaments, and for our further exoneration) that Commissioners may yet once more be sent from both Kingdoms to his Majesty, to shew the meaning of our Propositions & to assert them, and to hear the Kings doubts, & difficulties, and desires, who may further intimate, that (if his Majesty shall not give a satisfactory answer to the propositions) then both

kingdomes

Kingdoms will without making any such further application to him, take such course as they shall judge fittest for the peace and security of the kingdoms.

And as at the opening of this conference, I did begin with an humble, lawfull and laudable desire for unity in relation to Religion, the King, and amongst our selves; shal I close in the same dialect. For the first of Religion, if we do remember our vows to God to perform them, and shall endeavour really, constantly, and sincerely, the reformation of religion, and uniformity according to our *Covenant*, we may certainly expect that God will crown this great work, wherein he hath honored us to be actors with his blessing; but if in place of uniformity, which we are obliged to endeavour there shall be a toleration of all sects and sorts of religion, and if we neglect to build the house of God, and become insolent upon our successes; although we could mount up with Eagles wings, and build our nests as high as the staries, and had an army who for valour and strength could march to *Constantinople*, God shall lay our glory low in the dust, and suffer the work to fall in our hands, like the confusion of *Babel*. And whatever hath been moved by us concerning the *King*, we desire it may be rightly constructed, as proceeding from such as have not wavered from their first principles; for when the *King* was in the height of his power, we did not, and (I hope) never shall flatter him; and when the enemy was in the height of their pride and strength, *Scotland* did fear no colours: and now when the *King* is at his lowest ebbe, and hath cast himself into our army for safety, we hope your Lordships will pardon us from our sense of honour and duty to be very tender of the person and posterity of the *King*, to whom we have so many neer relations, and not like the worse of us: that we cannot so far forget our allegiance and duty, as not to have an antipathy against the change of Monarchical government, in which we have lived through the descent of so many Kings, and under which both kingdoms have been governed so many ages, and flourished in all happineffe. And now my last words shall be for constant unity between the kingdoms, which as it hath been the chief means to promote the great work wherein both kingdoms are so deeply engaged, so there is nothing can make us so formidable to our enemies, nor so much aiding one to another, as the cherishing and continuing thereof; and I dare say that no man would divide the one from the other, but such as desire to fish in troubled waters, and are real enemies to both. God hath blest the joint endeavours of both Nations, both are in one ship, and are come through a very great storm; and now when we are come into the harbour, it would be great shame to both to split upon the rocks of division (*et devorato bove defecere in caula*) and your Lordships may be confident that *Scotland*, who have esteemed no hazard too great for settling of Religion and love to their Brethren, will stick so fast and firmly to you (so long as you hold the principles of your *Covenant*) as no fear nor favour will ever be able to divide them from you, and we do expect that reciprocal amity which may perpetuate our unity.

### The Lord Chancellour of Scotland his Speech, to the Kings Majesty at Newcastle.

YOUR Majesty was pleased on Monday last to call the Lords of your Privy council of *Scotland* & the Committee, to acquaint them with the Propositions, & told, that before the delivery of your answer you would make the same known to them.

em. The time assigned for the stay of the commissioners is so short, & the consequence of your Majesties answer is of so great importance, either for the preservation, or ruine of your Crown and Kingdoms as we could not be answerable to God, nor to the trust reposed in us, unless we represent to your Majesty how necessary it is (as the condition of affairs now stand, and in so great an extremity) that your Majesty should consent to the Propositions, and that the danger and losse of your refusal will be remediless, and bring on sudden ruine and destruction.

I shall begin first with the last, which is the danger, and shall next speak a word of remedy: The differences between your Majesty and your Parliament (which no man knows better then your Majesties selfe) are grown to such a height, that after any bloody battels, there is no cure but a present peace, otherwise nothing can be expected but certain destruction. The Parliament is possessor of your Navy and of all Forts, garisons & strong holds of the kingdom: they have the Excise, assessments, sequestrations at their disposal, & have authority to raise all the men & mony in the kingdom, and (after many victories and great successes) they have a strong Army on foot, and are now in such a posture for strength and power, as they are in a capacity to do what they will, both in Church and State: & some are so afraid, others so unwilling to submit themselves to your Majesties government, as they desire not you, nor any of your race longer to reign over them: Yet the people are so wearied of the wars, & great burthens they groan under, are so desirous of peace, and loth to have Monarchical government (under which they have lived so long in peace & plenty) changed; & such as are unwearied of your Majesties government, dare not attempt to cast it off, till once they send Propositions of peace to your Majesty, lest the people without whose concurrence they are not able to carry on their design) should fall upon them. And therefore all the people being desirous that (after so great wars and troubles) they may have a perfect security from oppression and arbitrary power, the Houses of Parliament have resolved upon the Propositions which are tendered to your Majesty, as that without which the Kingdom and your people cannot be in safety, the most part of the people think, that there cannot be a firm peace upon any other terms. Your Majesties friends, and the commissioners from Scotland, (after all the settling we could,) were forced to consent to the sending those Propositions, or to be rated as the hinderers of peace, and to send no Propositions at all. And now Sir, if your Majesty (which God forbid) shall refuse to assent to the Propositions, you will lose all your friends, lose the City, and all the country, and all England will joyn against you as one man, and (when all hope of reconciliation is past) it is to be feared they will proceesse and depose you, and set up another Government; they will charge you to deliver your Majesty to them, and to render the Northern garrisons, and to remove our Army out of England: & upon your Majesties refusing of the Propositions, the Kingdoms will be constrained for their mutual safety, to agree & settle Religion and Peace without you, which (to our unspeakable grief) will ruine your Majesty and your posterity: and if your Majesty reject our faithfull advice, (who desire nothing on earth more then the establishment of your Majesties throne,) and lose England by your wilfulness, your Majesty will not be permitted to come & ruine Scotland. We have laid our hand upon our hearts, we have asked counsell and direction of God, and have had our most serious thoughts about the Remedy, but can find none (as affairs stand for the present) to save your Crown and Kingdoms, then your Majesties assenting to the Propositions. We dare not say, but they are higher

in some things (if it were in our power and option to remedy it) then we do appoyne of; but when we see no other meanes for curing the distempers of the Kingdom, and closing the breaches between your Majesty and your Parliament: Our most humble and faithfull advice is, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to assent to them, as the only best way to procure a speedy and happy peace; because your Majesty shall thereby have many great advantages, You will be received again in your Parliament with the applause and acclamations of your People; by your Royall presence your friends will be strengthened, Your enemies (who feare nothing so much as the granting the Propositions) will be weakened, your Majesty will have a fit opportunity to offer such Propositions as you shall in your wisdom judge fit for the Crown and Kingdom; all Armies will be disbanded, and your people finding the sweet fruits of your peaceable Government, your Majesty will gain their hearts and affections, which will be your strength and glory, and will recover all that your Majesty hath lost in this time of tempest and trouble.

And if it please God so to incline your Royal heart to this advice of your humble and faithfull servants, who (next to the honour of God) esteeme nothing more precious then the safety of your person and crown, Our actions shall quickly make appear to all the world, that we esteeme no hazard too great for your Majesties safety, and that we are willing to sacrifice our lives and fortunes for establishing your Throne.

And now, Sir, we prostrate our selves at your Majesties feet, and in the lowest posture of humility do beg, That your Majesty may (in end) grant the suit of your humble servants and faithfull subjects who have no private aimes, but only the glory of God, and safety of your Majesties person, posterity, and crown before eyes. And the granting of our desires will revive our fainting spirits: refresh our hearts, which are overwhelmed, and like to break with sorrow, and will turn prayers and tears of the many thousands of your people, in prayes to God, and in them embrace your Majesty with acclamations of joy.

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FINIS.